

Well, talking about reviving American manufacturing is nothing new in this town. In his 2013 State of the Union Address, President Obama insisted that “our first priority is making America a magnet for new jobs and manufacturing.”

Every few years, it seemed our Democratic friends over in the House would hold yet another press conference to talk about getting manufacturing moving. So rhetoric was not in short supply during the Obama era. What was harder to come by were actual results. On President Obama's watch, on net, our country lost more than 300,000 manufacturing jobs.

Year after year, Democratic policies led to insufficient, sluggish, and uneven economic growth that left much of the country behind. Eight years of this so-called recovery couldn't even get us back to the same number of manufacturing jobs that we had when President Obama first took his oath of office.

There are a number of reasons why. Yet here is one thing we heard loud and clear from U.S. manufacturers: High taxes, heavy regulations, and other Democratic policies put the wind squarely in their faces. Back in 2013, more than 75 percent of U.S. manufacturers said a hostile climate due to taxes and regulations was a major business obstacle.

What about the present? What about now?

This united Republican government has put an end to one burdensome regulation after another. We cut through the redtape that held back small businesses, local lenders, and manufacturers. We overhauled the Tax Code, leaving families with more to spend and invest and leaving job creators with more flexibility to compete and win.

What were the results?

Less than 2 years into the new administration, an all-time high of 95.1 percent of U.S. manufacturers have a positive outlook. Now fewer than one in five says a hostile business climate due to things like taxes and regulations is a top obstacle, and more than two-thirds are planning to hire this year. These aren't just numbers; this is real life.

At Jamison Door in Hagerstown, MD, tax reform made possible a 400-percent increase in plant size.

In my home State of Kentucky, it is estimated that more than 1,000 construction jobs will be needed to help build a new aluminum rolling mill for Braidy Industries. Over the next 7 years, tax reform is expected to save the company—listen to this—\$150 million, which will help to support this investment and the 600 permanent new jobs the company estimates it will create in the Commonwealth.

So let's sum it up. Republican policies have helped generate the very outcomes Democrats claim they wanted. American manufacturing is thriving on our watch, but now Democrats aren't cheering. In fact, they have tried to

block most of the policies that have helped this happen.

They voted against tax reform—every Democrat in the House and the Senate. They have protested regulatory reform every step of the way. They want to go right back to their old ways—repeal the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, raise taxes, and pile on more crushing regulations.

We are not going to let that happen because we agree that manufacturing growth is vital for American prosperity, and unlike our friends across the aisle, we have the ideas and the policies to help make that goal into reality.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

REMEMBERING OFFICER JACOB CHESTNUT AND DETECTIVE JOHN GIBSON

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, 20 years ago today, in the late afternoon, shots rang out in this building. A mentally ill individual, armed with a gun, was coming through security when he shot Capitol Police Officer Jacob Chestnut. He then approached the Capitol office of Tom DeLay and engaged Detective John Gibson, and they exchanged gunfire. Detective Gibson and Officer Chestnut lost their lives in the line of duty while protecting this building's occupants and visitors.

There is no way of knowing how many lives they saved in their sacrifice, but their families know that their sacrifice has not been forgotten by all of us here. Their memory is a blessing to their families and to all of us here who remember that awful day.

I join the distinguished Republican leader today in recognizing the anniversary of their passing as a solemn reminder of the everyday heroism practiced by the Capitol Police and their brothers and sisters in blue all across the country.

NOMINATION OF BRETT KAVANAUGH

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, the Senate has a constitutional duty to provide advice and consent and a special obligation to thoroughly examine Supreme Court nominations. After all, there are few positions in our government with greater importance or responsibility than a lifetime appointment on the Nation's highest Court. It is now our job to carefully, thoroughly, and methodically review the record of Judge Brett Kavanaugh, and we have quite a job ahead of us.

As a partisan political lawyer during the Clinton and Bush years, Brett Kavanaugh has a paper trail a mile long. There is no doubt the White House and Leader MCCONNELL were

aware of this history when the nomination was made. The length of Judge Kavanaugh's record, however, is no reason to shirk our responsibility as Senators to review it.

Yet the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee has already suggested there is no reason to review Judge Kavanaugh's full record before proceeding with his nomination. Leader MCCONNELL threatened to play political hardball if Democrats insisted on obtaining Judge Kavanaugh's full record. Senate Republicans are making hollow arguments and petty attempts at advancing Judge Kavanaugh's nomination with as little scrutiny as they can manage.

We have been having trouble getting an agreement with Judiciary Committee Chairman GRASSLEY on the scope of the documents the Senate should request. Chairman GRASSLEY has had our request for over a week. It is the same request that was made when Elena Kagan was nominated to the Supreme Court. It is the very same request that Republicans insisted on, including Senator GRASSLEY—he was not chairman then—and Democrats agreed to when we were in charge.

Much like Judge Kavanaugh, Elena Kagan spent time in prior administrations and had a lengthy paper trail, some of which could have been labeled privileged. Did Democrats, in the majority at the time, attempt to rush her nomination through? No. Did we lean on former administrations to declare her documents privileged? No. Democrats actually joined with the Republican minority to request a full and complete accounting of Elena Kagan's record. Her former employer waived all claims of privilege.

Let me show you the letter right here that my friend Senator LEAHY, then chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and Senator Jeff Sessions, then ranking member, sent to the Clinton Library. Here is the letter. What we have done is use the same letter. We are willing to issue the exact same letter, except we have put the address of the person at the Bush Library, changed the name of Kagan to Kavanaugh, and changed the name of Clinton to Bush; otherwise, it is the exact same letter.

How can our Republican colleagues resist this simple letter when it is the exact same letter they pushed for, and we acceded to, when the shoe was on the other foot?

The letter requests the entirety of Elena Kagan's record, not part of it, not a subset of it—all of it. What is good enough for Justice Kagan is good enough for Judge Kavanaugh. You could simply replace her name with Judge Kavanaugh's name throughout this letter, and the letter would be exactly applicable today. This is the standard Democrats and Republicans used to agree on, the Kagan standard—and it wasn't just Senators LEAHY and Sessions.

At the time, Senator GRASSLEY, now chairman—the burden is on him to help

us get a bipartisan letter—said: “In order for the Senate to fulfill its constitutional duty of advise and consent, we must get all of [Elena Kagan’s] documents from the Clinton Library and have enough time to analyze them so we can determine whether she should be a Justice.”

Let me read it again. This is what Chairman GRASSLEY said—now chairman, then a member of the Judiciary Committee: “In order for the Senate to fulfill its constitutional duty of advise and consent, we must get all of [Elena Kagan’s] documents from the Clinton Library and have enough time to analyze them so we can determine whether she should be a Justice.”

Senator GRASSLEY is a good man. Senator GRASSLEY has a real sense of integrity and fairness. That is why so many of us are wondering why there is such a double standard right now. We hope he will join Senator FEINSTEIN in a joint letter, just as Senator LEAHY and Senator Sessions came together on such a letter a while ago.

Senator CORNYN at the time, now the No. 2 man in the Republican hierarchy here in the Senate, said: “I think it would be a mistake to hold the hearing until we’ve had a chance to see [Elena Kagan’s] documents and any other documents that might exist . . . [and] we’ve had an adequate time to review the documents.”

This happens especially when it comes to judges. The double standard of the other side is enormous. When they are in the minority, they profess strong arguments, push us to go along, and usually we do. But now that they are in the majority, it is as if there is a whole new world and what happened in the past doesn’t make a darn bit of difference. That is not fair. That is not right.

We, on this side, have had enough of the other side’s hypocrisy on judges. We know there is a push by the hard right to fill the bench so they can achieve their agenda, which they could never achieve—even with Republican majorities in the House, Senate, and Presidency—through the elected bodies.

The kinds of attitudes that we have seen by the conservative Justices—which we believe Judge Kavanaugh might well accede to, and that is why we want a hearing—are not what America wants on issue after issue after issue. This is the hard right’s No. 1 goal.

They embraced Donald Trump only after he agreed to a list of 25 judges that the Federalist Society and Heritage Foundation suggested; both are far away from where Americans feel on issues like healthcare, government involvement, and choice. That is when they embraced him.

There is huge pressure; I get that. We have pressure on our side too. But the double standard is so glaring, so unfair, that it is appalling.

People say: Well, on judges, it has been tit for tat. It really hasn’t. It

really hasn’t. Leader Reid changed the rules after four vacancies existed on the DC Court of Appeals because Republicans wouldn’t put them in. It was a 60-vote rule, but we kept it open for the Supreme Court. Leader MCCONNELL changed that. Leader MCCONNELL, unprecedentedly, let Merrick Garland stew and not have a hearing.

We understand the pressure, but it is not good for the Republicans, and it is not good for comity in this body, which we are seeking. I see the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. We are trying to get comity on appropriations. Stuff like this poisons the well. It does.

Just last week, we witnessed the firsthand importance of reviewing a nominee’s full record. The White House was forced to withdraw the nomination of Ryan Bounds for a seat on the Ninth Circuit after abhorrent writings from his college newspaper came to light. If the college newspaper writings of a potential appellate judge are significant enough to disqualify him from consideration, how can my colleagues on the other side argue with a straight face that Judge Kavanaugh’s record should not be fully considered before the Senate moves forward on his nomination to this Nation’s highest Court—one of the most powerful institutions in the world?

There is a lot we don’t know about Judge Kavanaugh. We are learning more about him each day. Just a few days ago, for example, we learned he had expressed skepticism about the Supreme Court that held President Nixon accountable. It is another example of Judge Kavanaugh expressing the view that Presidential power should be virtually unconstrained. One that is still amazing to me, and I would like to see if there is more of it in his records because it is so extreme a view, is that Judge Kavanaugh suggested a President can ignore a statute he “deems”—his word—unconstitutional even if a court ruled it was constitutional. That is like a King, not a President. We have the rule of law here.

He said sitting Presidents should not be subject to an investigation of any kind, other than an impeachment inquiry by Congress.

Judge Kavanaugh’s belief in unchallenged Presidential power is so ingrained that he has even questioned the constitutionality of what he calls the “independent regulatory state,” a phrase that sounds awfully familiar to the hard-right myth of a deep state.

This is a radically activist view for a judge who advertises himself as someone who will merely interpret the law as written. Congress has, by law, given certain agencies varying degrees of independence from the Executive. That started in the 1890s. That is not new, and there is an ebb and flow to it. Sometimes Congress feels the regulations have gone too far and push back; sometimes they feel they need more, and they push forward. There has been an ebb and flow in history since the 1890s, but almost no one has said—ex-

cept the hard right and deep state people—that there shouldn’t be regulations.

If Judge Kavanaugh has his way, agencies that have been somewhat independent with good success, such as the Social Security Administration, the SEC, the IRS, and the FBI, would be subject to vast political influence from the White House. That is exactly the opposite of what Congress has provided by law.

Senators and the public will have to make up their minds about what Judge Kavanaugh believes, and they will have to think of it in the broad, long-term context but also in the context of this President, who seems to have less respect for the rule of law, less respect for separation of power, and less respect for anyone who stands in his way than any President I have seen in my lifetime.

Everyone will have to make up their minds about that. I understand that. That is what we are here for, but it seems clear that in the context of Judge Kavanaugh’s writings about the Presidency, that the statement questioning the Nixon decision reflects his actual beliefs. That is why we need to obtain, analyze, and scrutinize his record. That is our job as U.S. Senators, a job Members from both sides of the aisle used to agree on.

THE PRESIDENT’S FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, finally, just a few points as I see my colleagues are waiting. I wish to make a few points on Iran and President Trump’s tweets. First, it seems the President is desperate to distract the American people from last week’s performance in Helsinki. He always seems to do this: He runs into trouble, and he creates a whole new firestorm somewhere else. It is his MO. It is not the way we have seen government work in the United States, but that is what he does. He is the President.

Second, the tweets suggest a pattern in President Trump’s foreign policy in which the President uses heated rhetoric with foreign capitals to inflame and intensify tensions so later on the President can pretend to ride in and save the day with a more measured tone. It is sort of like a Kabuki play. It screws up our foreign policy.

We saw this play out in North Korea. President Trump repeatedly insulted Kim Jong Un on Twitter, only to declare world peace once the two of them had met. It seems as if the President’s foreign policy is to commit arson so he can play the firefighter. He lights the fire and then puts it out and gives himself a huge pat on the back.

Not surprisingly, this reality TV foreign policy hasn’t produced the concrete results we are all looking for and must secure. It has been 2 months since the President met with Chairman Kim. Yet we have seen little in the way of irreversible steps toward